1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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173 them with their magic arts, and indeed killed by sorcery several of their most prominent citizens." *

612 Like other Canarese people, the Badagas have exogamous septs or kūlas, of which Māri, Madhave (marriage), Kastūri (musk), and Belli (silver) are examples. A very large number of families belong to the Māri and Madhave septs, which were time after time given as the sept name in reply to my enquiries. It may be noted that Belli occurs as an exogamous sept of the Canarese classes Vakkaliga, Toreya, and Kuruba, and Kastūri is recorded in my notes as a sept of the Vakkaligas and Telugu Kammas.

361 The Badagas dwell in extensive villages, generally
342 situated on the summit of a low hillock, composed of rows of comfortable thatched or tiled houses, and surrounded by the fields, which yield the crops. The houses are not separate tenements, but a line of dwellings under one continuous roof, and divided by party
[363] walls. Sometimes there are two or three, or more lines, forming streets. Each house is partitioned off into an
342 outer (edumane) and inner apartment (ozhaga or
[343] ōgamane). If the family has cows or buffaloes yielding
[562] milk, a portion of the latter is converted into a milk-house (hāgōttu), in which the milk is stored, and which
[783] no woman may enter. Even males who are under pollution, from having touched or passed near a Kota or Paraiyan, or other cause, may not enter it until they
342 have had a ceremonial bath. To some houses a loft, made of bamboo posts, is added, to serve as a store-
349 house. In every Badaga village there is a raised
[361] platform composed of a single boulder or several stones with an erect stone slab set up thereon, called sūththu

* Gazetteer of the Nilgiris.

622 matrimonial, he had the power to throw obstacles in the
(584) way of such marriages taking place. The monegar, in
virtue of his position, wielded much power, and ruled
(661) the village as he pleased." In the old days, it is said,
when he visited any village within his jurisdiction, the
monegar had the privilege of having the best women or
maids of the place to share his cot according to his
choice. In former times, the monegar used to wear a
silver ring as the badge of office, and some Badagas
still have in their possession such rings, which are pre-
served as heirlooms, and worshipped during festivals.
The term monegar is, at the present day, used for the
village revenue official and munsiff.

•612 I gather that each exogamous sept has its headman,
called Gouda, who is assisted by a Parpattikāran, and
decides tribal matters, such as disputes, divorce, etc.
627 Fines, when inflicted, go towards feasting the tribe, and
doing pūja (worship) to the gods. In the case of a
dispute between two parties, one challenges the other to
take an oath in a temple before the village council. A
declaration on oath settles the matter at issue, and the
624 parties agree to abide by it. It is the duty of the
Parpattikāran to make arrangements for such events as
the Heththeswāmi, Devvē and Bairaganni festivals, and
795 the buffalo sacrificing festival at Konakkore. The Par-
783 pattikāran takes part in the purification of excommuni-
cated members of the tribe, when they are received
back into it, for example, on release from prison. The
tongue of the delinquent is burnt with a hot sandal stick,
and a new waist thread put on. He is taken to the
temple, where he stands amidst the assembled Badagas,
(624) who touch his head with a cane. He then prostrates
himself at the feet of the Parpattikāran, who smears his
624 forehead with sacred ashes. It is, further, the duty of

578 Among the Badagas, Konga is used as a term of abuse. Those who made mistakes in matching Holmgren's wools, with which I tested them, were always called Konga by the onlookers.

576 (560) When two Badagas meet each other, the elder touches the head of the younger with his right hand. This form of salutation is known as giving the head. A person of the Badaga section gives the head, as it is called, to an Udaiyar, in token of the superiority of the latter. When people belong to the same sept, they say "Ba, anna, appa, thamma, amma, akka" (come, father, brother, (612) mother, sister, etc.). But, if they are of different septs, they will say "Ba, māma, māmi, bava" (come, uncle, aunt, brother-in-law, etc.). "Whenever," Dr. Rivers 609 writes,* "a Toda meets a Badaga monegar (headman), or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, a salutation passes between the two. The Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says 'Madtin pudia.' (Madtin, you have come). The Badaga replies 'Buthuk! buthuk!' (blessing, blessing), and rests his hand on the top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community. It would seem that every Badaga headman may be greeted in this way, but a Toda will only greet other Badaga elders, if he is already acquainted with them. The salutation is made to members of all the various castes of the Badagas, except 618 the Toreyas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful how far this is the case. The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid

(113)

* The Todas, 1906.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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241 796 the neighbourhood of Kotagiri have their Hiriya Udaya temple at Tāndanād, and Mahālingaswāmi temple at Kannērmukku. This Devvē festival, which should on no account be pronounced duvve, which means burning-ground, is celebrated at one place, whither the Badagas from other villages proceed, to take part in it. About midday, some Badagas and the temple pūjāri go from the temple of Hiriya Udaya to that of Mahālingaswāmi. (1771) The procession is usually headed by a Kurumba, who scatters fragments of tūd bark and wood as he goes (782) on his way. The pūjāri takes with him the materials necessary for doing pūja, and, after worshipping Mahālingaswāmi, the party return to the Hiriya Udaya temple, where milk and cooked rice are offered to the various gods within the temple precincts. On the following day, all assemble at the temple, and a Kurumba brings a few sheaves of *Setaria italica*, and ties them to a stone set up at the main entrance. After this, pūja is done, (612) and the people offer cocoanuts to the god. Later on, all the women of the Madhave sept, who have given birth to a first-born child, come, dressed up in holiday attire, with their babies, to the temple. On this day they wear a special nose ornament, called elemukkuththi, which is only worn on one other occasion, at the funeral of a husband. The women do pūja to Hiriya Udaya, and the pūjāri gives them a small quantity of rice on mīnige (*Argyreia*) leaves. After eating this, they leave the temple in a line, and wash their hands with water given to them by the pūjāri. This ceremonial, performed by women of the Madhave sept, is called Mandē-dhanda. As soon as the Devvē festival is concluded, the reaping of the crop commences, and a measure or two of grain from the crop gathered on the first day, called nīsal, is set apart for the Mahālingaswāmi temple.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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584 serves the father of his betrothed as one of his own
583 family till the girl comes of age, when the marriage is consummated, and he becomes a partner in the general property of the family of his father-in-law."

582 A man may marry a girl belonging to the same
612 village as himself, if he and she are not members of the
621 same exogamous sept. In most cases, however, all the inhabitants of a village are of the same sept, and a man has to take as his wife a girl from a village other than his own.

583 Among all sections of the Badagas, adult marriage is the general rule, though infant marriage is also practised.

584 Marriage is preceded by a simple form of courtship, but the consent of the parents to the union is necessary. A girl does not suffer in reputation if she is rejected by a number of suitors, before she finally settles down.

585 Except among the Udayas, the marriage ceremony is of
[184] a very simple nature. A day or two before that fixed for taking the girl to the house of her husband-elect, the latter proceeds to her village, accompanied by his brothers, who, as a token of respect, touch the feet of all the Badagas who are assembled. The bride is taken to the house of the bridegroom, accompanied by the Kota band. Arrived there, she stands at the entrance, and her mother-in-law or sister-in-law brings water in a vessel, and pours it into her hands thrice. Each time she lets the water fall over her feet. The mother-in-law then ties round her neck a string of beads (māle mani), and leads her to the outer room (edumane), where cooked sāmai (*Panicum miliare*) and milk is given to her. This she pretends to eat, and the bridegroom's sister gives her water to wash her hands with. The bride and two married women or virgins (preferably the bridegroom's sisters) go to a stream in procession, accompanied by the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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615 (614) the Gaudas must approach a hundred; some have legends of origin, too, as do the clans. Ma:ri clan, for instance, to which the paramount chief belongs, migrated from villages near the great temple of Nanjangud bearing an image of the goddess Ma:ri;[26] the Nilgiri villages founded by them are listed in Diagram 5. The Beḷḷi clan, supposedly descended from silversmiths *(beḷḷi,* 'silver'), may be an example of the various lineages started by itinerant tradesmen: usually these can intermarry with any other Gauda lineage or clan. The Selandi sept preserves a vestige of totemism in that the members may not kill spiders *(selandi).* (612)

On the fringes of the plateau one can find quite atypical marriage arrangements. In the southern village of Kiṉṉakore, for example, Gaudas have a lineage intermarrying with Gaudas of the other Kundena:ḍu villages and also with Gaudas and Kanarese Okkaligas living at the foot of the hills in Attapaḍi and Pu:ḍu:r.[27] In eight villages around Ha:sanu:ru, forty kilometres northeast of the plateau, there live about 800 Badagas forming three phratries. They generally find it more convenient now to intermarry among their neighbours (observing clan and sept exogamy) than make the long journey to the Nilgiris in search of spouses.

WAINAD GAUDAS

615 There is no doubt that the small community of Wainad Gaudas (totalling 951 in 1970) is descended from Badaga Gaudas. Apart from their own assertion of it and their continuing intermarriage with Gaudas of Todana:ḍu, certain aspects of their material culture underline the connection: similar nose, ear, finger and ankle ornaments are worn by both communities; they have the same typically Badaga cuisine; and their two dialects are very similar. Furthermore, it is recognized that the people of Nandaṭṭi (in the Wainad), for instance, are agnates to the people of Nunduwa and Ta:mbaṭṭi (in the Nilgiris), although the Nandaṭṭi Gaudas had settled at Gudalu:ru in the Wainad prior to founding Nandaṭṭi twelve generations ago.[28] Once every few years a party of Wainad Gaudas attends the chariot-dragging festival in Nunduwa as a mark of their relationship. Su:lu:ru (in Todana:ḍu) has a similar link with each of the eight Wainad Villages.

The migration down into the Wainad occurred at least two

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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171 men in the Ha:ruva and Wodea clans perform a priestly role only
616 for clans of the other Badaga moiety. Among Todas a kind of secondary marriage is permissible between the otherwise endogamous moieties (Rivers, 1906, 699–700); among Badagas formal marriage may sometimes occur between the usually endogamous moieties, provided that the man or woman from the meat-eating moiety abstain from meat while in the presence of the vegetarian
178 spouse. It is important to note that the present trend in Badaga
616 society is towards total endogamy of each moiety: Ha:ruva, Adikiri and Kaggusi marriage with Gaudas has been decreasing in this century, and Lingayats now avoid marrying into the Ha:ruva families which also have marriage connexions with Gaudas; yet hypogamy and hypergamy are both still permissible. Were the Badagas moving towards a caste model of society, one might expect hypogamy to disappear (since it is not usual in caste societies) and further culinary distinctions to be adopted. For example, distinctions might then be made, as elsewhere in India, between those who eat beef, those who take mutton but no beef, those eating eggs but no meat and those solely vegetarian. Yet no such complication is emerging: people are strengthening the boundary between households of vegetarian and of non-vegetarian
{171} diet, but no finer distinctions are drawn. The moiety of vegetarians
{177} includes all of the clans noted for their religious orthodoxy, while
{184} the larger non-vegetarian moiety includes most of the better educated, somewhat westernized and economically influential families.

SEPTS

• 612 The Badaga clans are reputedly distributed among sixteen septs which, it is asserted, cross-cut all of South Indian society. In their theory every clan of every Hindu caste is affiliated to one or more exogamous *kolas;* the Badaga clans were of the same *kolas* even before leaving Mysore, and indeed fourteen of their *kolas* are still identifiable among Mysore castes. *Kola* has thus to be defined as a sept or patrilineal descent group, 'a group of persons, all of whom believe themselves to be related, owning some relation to an object animate or inanimate, and exhibiting the taboo-behaviour towards it. . . . There does not appear to be any larger organisation comprising the various kulas (Srinivas, 1942, 32). Their distribution, according to Badaga elders, is as follows:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Su:riya ('sun')	former chieftains from Mysore; some Wodeas
Chandra ('moon')	servants of the former rulers, Koṅgaru (?)
Barata ('finger')	some Wodeas
Brahma (god Brahma)	Ha:ruvas
Beḷḷi ('silver')	some Wodeas, Kaggusis, Gaudas of Jakkatala and Nedugula; some Toreas of Kaige:ru area; some Be:das
Selandi ('spider')	some Wodeas and Gaudas of Hulikal and 'Koṅgaru' Gaudas—both descended from Wodeas
Ko:ve:ru (Cauvery R.)	some Wodeas, some Adikiris, and Toreas descended from those Adikiris
Madure (holy city of Madurai)	some Wodeas
Kasturi ('musk')	some Adikiris, some Gaudas of Ke:ti, and some Toreas of Ebbana:du
Mallige ('jasmine')	some Kumba:ras and Be:das
Ania ('aliens', 'different people')	Gaudas of Ku:kalu and Nañjana:ḍu
Ma:ri (goddess Ma:ri)	Gaudas of Todana:du
Maduve ('marriage')	some Wodeas; Gaudas of Poraṅga:ḍu
Ma:nika ('gem')	Kaṇakkas (who claim their sept to be Ma:nta); some Gaudas of Jakkane:ri; some Toreas
Na:ga ('cobra')	some Toreas of Kappaḷḷi area
Samandi ('champac flower')	some Kumba:ras

612 614 Of living Badagas few, even among the elders, know much about their septs, but in earlier times these were very relevant, particularly before the society took on its present structure, and also when marriages were being arranged between families of clans not well known to each other; '... exogamy having progressed, if we may say so, more rapidly than social differentiation, it was necessary to call into question an increasingly large number of clans, to adapt the old institutions to the new rules' (trans. from Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 480). In the reorganization of social thinking that followed settlement on the hills, Badagas may well have found membership

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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612 (614) in already established septs a helpful guide, the rule of sept exogamy and the wide knowledge of their names protecting against in-breeding between families from the same descent group.

In former times the septs were quasi-totemic, as elsewhere in India.[3] One old lady of Selandi ('spider') sept recently asserted that members of that collectivity should never kill a spider; Wodeas of Belli ('silver') sept may not wear silver ornaments; Toreas, however, no longer have a special relation with the cobra though some belong to Na:ga ('cobra') sept and were formerly forbidden to kill it.

The Badagas do not distinguish between what Lévi-Strauss (following S.V. Karandikar) calls big and little *gotras* (septs). 'Big' *gotras* are said to be of recent Brahminic origin and few in number; whereas 'little' *gotras* 'appearing sometimes as territorial groups, sometimes as lineages, as clans or subdivisions of a clan, sometimes patrilineal and sometimes matrilineal, are ... the object of exogamous rules of great complexity' (trans. from Lévi-Strauss, 1968, 478–479). Clearly the Badaga septs are 'little' *gotras*. As such they were concerned, not with political divisions or different schools of ritual, but solely with the arrangement of marriage alliances. Each of their sixteen septs is distributed through one or several clans; conversely, the Gaudas belong to seven septs, and other phratries to as few as two septs.

JATI, MARRIAGE PREFERENCE AND ROLE AMBIGUITY

615 Although it is possible to view the society as a pair of moieties, the phratries, like social units in nearly every part of India, are ranked by members into a hierarchy about which there is considerable but not total agreement.[4]

All Hindu Badagas agree that the Christians are now the lowest phratry, and this estimation is reflected in disapproval of intermarriage and a lack of formal interdining between Christians and the higher phratries. There is also agreement that the Toreas are next lowest; higher groups should neither dine nor intermarry with them. At the other end of the scale there is near-universal accord on the supreme position of Wodeas. Though the great majority of the community are not Lingayats they cite the purity of a Wodea's vegetarian diet and the orthodoxy of his sectarian observances as

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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582 [538] Another factor entering into the choice of a bride is expressed in the proverb, 'Have the girl from a far-away place; have the cow from a nearby place.'[7] It is generally felt that a woman from a distant village who is a classificatory cross-cousin will make the best of wives, for she will not take too many liberties with affines who are not previously well-known to her, and at the same time she will be unable to run home to her parents too often; in short, she is likely to remain in the marital home and work adequately there. An example of an ideal marriage with a classificatory father's sister's daughter is to be seen in Diagram 9 (p. 179) (the man marked X). The principle of 'equivalence' of brothers in this kinship table makes X's wife a cross-cousin to him.

565 [121] In Chapter 10 we will discuss the manner in which the modern Badaga community is becoming a class society. We should nonetheless note here that already by the nineteenth century a class of 'gentry' had arisen in each village. This is the term I have chosen for the families descended from the village founders and including all of the headman. As will be seen, these people had higher social status than others and a peculiar status in Badaga law, to be explored in Chapter 8.

128 The marriage system which now links the forty-four Badaga clans into ten phratries is a very complex one and calls for a clarifying diagram to accompany the following pages of description. Each circle in Diagram 7 represents one clan, and the intervening lines link clans which customarily intermarry. Clans have been grouped into phratries. The dotted lines mark irregular but acceptable patterns of marriage. The subcultural divisions between Lingayats and other Shaivites, between Christians and Shaivites, and between vegetarians and meat-eaters, have also been indicated.

WODEAS

615 [162] The majority of Badagas rank Wodeas as the highest phratry in the community.[8] They occupy twelve villages scattered across the plateau, some very close to the villages of lower phratries. Their villages are not all exogamous. There are perhaps four thousand Wodeas, distributed among three unnamed clans, or six septs. These septs, with their variant names, are as follows:

615 614 612 Clan 1: Şu:rriya and Selandi (or Sedili) septs;

Clan II: Ko:ve:ru (Ko:vu:r or Koyaru) and Belli septs;
Clan III: Barata and Maduve (otherwise Maituve or Mandu) septs. This last clan, whose ancestors had come from the Ahgala monastery where they were *Jaṅguma* priests, provides priests (Woderu) for most other Badagas.

Because the clans are not actually named, the confusing practice has grown up of referring to them either by the names of villages where they are found or by the names of their constituent septs. Further identification of the clans is found in the unusual feature of their recognizing clan deities. As with the Lingayat Mallavas of Coorg (Srinivas, 1942, 36–37), Wodeas who worship the same god may not intermarry.

Wodea marriages are arranged between members of any two of the three clans, even if between inhabitants of the same village; marriages also link those of the Nilgiris with those of Ha:sanu:ru. Since the beginning of this century marriages have been contracted with Lingayat girls from the Wodea caste of Mysore who, unlike Badaga girls, bring a dowry and are often well-educated: outsiders are thus increasingly entering the community. Some intermarriage with Kaggusis has occurred, and in a few cases Wodea girls have married Kanakkas.[9]

Wodeas, however, cite not only their supposed royal origins[10] but also the longer time they have lived in the Nilgiris as reasons for the near-absence of intermarriage between them and the other Lingayat clans. Initially, too, they were suspicious about whether these immigrants really were Lingayats; and furthermore the fact that people of these three clans may marry non-Lingayats is obviously not lost on the Wodeas. Locally they are considered a very conservative and orthodox Lingayat group, in the sense that they abide strictly by whatever prescriptions and proscriptions of the Lingayat creed are known to them. Lingayats of Mysore might regard them as rather unorthodox, though, for the Badagas were illiterate until this century and were thus unable to read Lingayat scriptures or even to follow the religious calendar properly (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). Apparently the Wodeas had established their position as a self-perpetuating phratry in the Nilgiris before the other Lingayats arrived.

In the past Wodeas did not accept food from Ha:ruvas or any socially inferior phratry but would eat in the inner room of any other Wodea house (Grigg, 1880, 220). Their food may only be cooked in metal vessels, not earthenware. Other Badagas take